

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 OMB-01 SAM-01 SAB-01 SCCT-01 ACDA-05 /102 W

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O P 220441Z JAN 76

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5456

INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY AMMAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY CAIRO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COTONOU PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DOHA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY GEORGETOWN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY JIDDA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MANAMA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY RABAT PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TRIPOLI PRIORITY

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AMEMBASSY TUNIS PRIORITY

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 0212

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, XF

SUBJ: SC MIDDLE EAST DEBATE: JANUARY 21 CONSULTATIONS

: A. USUN 200 (NOTAL)

B. STATE 15127 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: IN CONSULTATIONS WITH SC PRESIDENT, US SAID ARAB DRAFT RESOLUTION WAS NOT ACCEPTABLE SINCE IT ATTEMPTED TO CREATE NEW MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK. EUROPEANS AND OTHERS HAD VARIETY OF PROBLEMS WITH THE DRAFT. THIS LED TO FAIRLY INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS, SWEDES AND FRENCH PLAYING MOST ACTIVE PART AND NON-ALIGNED ACTING AS INTERMEDIARIES WITH ARABS. A NEW WORKING PAPER HAS TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT SOME EUROPEAN CONCERNS, BUT FURTHER CHANGES ARE PROBABLE. CONSULTATIONS OF SC AS A WHOLE ARE SCHEDULED FOR TOMORROW, WITH JANUARY 23 OR 24 STILL LIKELIEST DATES FOR A VOTE. END SUMMARY.

1. SC PRESIDENT SALIM HELD INDIVIDUAL CONSULTATIONS WITH COUNCIL MEMBERS THROUGHOUT MORNING JANUARY 21. WITH THE US., AS WITH OTHERS, SALIM EMPHASIZED HIS CONCERN THAT MIDDLE EAST DEBATE RESULT IN POSITIVE ACTIONS THAT WOULD HELP THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THOUGH HE NOTED HE WAS CONSULTING ON THE BASIS OF THE ARAB DRAFT (USUN REFTL), THAT PAPER HAD NO FORMAL STATUS; NON-ALIGNED IN FACT PLANNED TO REVISE IT LATER IN DAY. AMB MOYNIHAN, REPLYING ALONG LINES OF STATE , SAID THE DRAFT APPEARED TO ATTEMPT TO CREATE A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR NEGOTIATION, AND WAS THEREFORE NOT ACCEPTABLE TO US. MOYNIHAN SUGGESTED THAT AN AMERICAN VETO WOULD NOT MEAN THE DEBATE HAD FAILED. ON CONTRARY, THE PROCESS OF GETTING PARTIES TOGETHER IN SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS MIGHT BE ACCELERATED BY ALL THAT HAS CONFIDENTIAL

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HAPPENED IN THE COUNCIL.

2. BRITISH, FRENCH, SWEDES, ITALIANS AND JAPANESE HAVE TOLD US OF THE POSITIONS THEY TOOK IN CONSULTATIONS. ALL SAID DRAFT WAS UNACCEPTABLE IN ITS PRESENT FORM, EXPLAINING WHY WITH VARYING DEGREES OF SPECIFICITY. BRITISH WERE EVIDENTLY THE MOST GENERAL, SWEDES AND FRENCH THE MOST DETAILED. SWEDISH DEL. AS AN ILLUSTRATION, HAD SIX OBJECTIONS TO

ARAB DRAFT:

- (A) ABSENCE OF ANY REFERENCE TO 242 AND 338,
- (B) ALLUSION TO "RELEVANT UN RESOLUTIONS" SOME OF WHICH SWEDEN AND OTHERS HAD OPPOSED,
- (C) FAILURE TO SPECIFY WITHDRAWAL TO 1967 (AS DISTINCT FROM EARLIER) BOUNDARIES,
- (D) VAGUENESS OF PARAGRAPH ON GUARANTEES AND FACT THAT GUARANTEES WERE TO BE ESTABLISHED AFTER PALESTINIAN RIGHTS HAD BEEN IMPLEMENTED AND ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL EFFECTED,
- (E) IMPLICATION IN OPERATIVE PARA 2 THAT THIS RESOLUTION PROVIDED ONLY BASIS FOR FUTURE INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AND CONFERENCES, AND
- (F) HINT OF PRESSURE IMPLIED BY "AS SOON AS POSSIBLE" IN PARA 3.

OTHER EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE HAD MANY OF THE SAME DIFFICULTIES. FRENCH TELL US THEY ARE WORKING HARDEST TO HAVE INCLUDED (IN PARA 1 (A)) A REFERENCE TO THE RIGHT OF ALL STATES TO EXIST IN PEACE. THEY SAY THEY HAVE DROPPED THEIR PREVIOUS DEMAND THAT 242 AND 338 BE EXPLICITLY REAFFIRMED. (THIS ISSUE PRESENTLY DIVIDES EC-9 SC MEMBERS. UK IS HOLDING OUT FOR REAFFIRMATION OF THESE RESOLUTIONS, WHILE ITALY INSISTS WITH NON-ALIGNED THAT REAFFIRMATION IS ESSENTIAL, BUT TELLS US THIS IS A TACTICAL POSITION DESIGNED TO OBTAIN MOST BALANCED POSSIBLE RESOLUTION.)

3. DRAFTING RESPONSIBILITY HAS NOW PASSED FROM ARABS TO NON-ALIGNED, PARTICULARLY PAKISTAN AND PANAMA. THESE TWO ARE ACTING AS INTERMEDIARIES BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND ARABS. THEY ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CURRENT WORKING PAPER, REPORTED FINAL PARA BELOW, WHICH INCORPORATES SEVERAL EUROPEAN SUGGESTION. (EUROPEANS HAVE, HOWEVER, TOLD NON-ALIGNED THIS PAPER REMAINS UNACCEPTABLE.) ARAB DRAFTERS SAY THAT AS A CONFIDENTIAL

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GROUP THEY ARE OUT OF PICTURE; THEY WILL ONLY RESPOND TO PROPOSED CHANGES AS INDIVIDUAL DELEGATIONS.

4. ONE OF MORE REMARKABLE ASPECTS OF THIS DEBATE IS THE APPARENTLY TOTAL LACK OF CONNECTION WITH THE LEBANESE CRISIS. VIRTUALLY NO MENTION HAS BEEN MADE IN DEBATE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN LEBANON NOR, SO FAR AS WE CAN TELL, HAS THE DRAFTING PROCESS BEEN AFFECTED. PLO HEAD OF DELEGATION KADDOUMI DID SAY TODAY TO ITALIANS THAT "NOW THE PLO HAS NOTHING TO LOSE" AND WOULD ACCORDINGLY INSIST ON INCLUDING ALL ITS DEMANDS IN A RESOLUTION, BUT ITALIANS TAKE THIS AS NEGOTIATING RHETORIC.

5. THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF THE DEBATE STRIKES US AS SOMEWHAT LESS CONFRONTATIONAL, PARTICULARLY VIS-A-VIS THE

US, THAN IN PREVIOUS SIMILAR EXERCISES. THERE SEEMS TO BE
A BETTER COMPREHENSION OF THE SPECIAL POSITION OF A MEDIATOR.
ALSO, EVEN AMONG MORE MILITANT ARABS LIKE SYRIA, OUR
REASONS FOR INSISTING THAT THE NEGOTIATING FRAMEWORK REMAIN
UNALTERED SEEM TO BE ACCEPTED AS PRESENTED IN GOOD FAITH,
EVEN IF ARABS DO NOT WHOLLY AGREE.

6. GENERAL DEBATE CONTINUES WITH ARAB, NON-ALIGNED AND
EAST EUROPEAN SPEAKERS EMPHASIZING WITH LITTLE VARIATION THEMES
OF PALESTINIAN NATIONAL RIGHTS, TOTAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL
AND (IN MANY CASES) RIGHT OF ALL STATES TO LIVE IN PEACE.
THERE HAVE NOW BEEN 37 SPEAKERS. DEBATE WILL CONCLUDE MORNING
JANUARY 22, WITH ABOUT SIX SPEAKERS STILL INSCRIBED.
HIGHLIGHTS OF JANUARY 21 DEBATE BEING REPORTED BY USUN
UNCLASSIFIED SUMMARY.

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-06 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10

CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 OMB-01 SAM-01 SAB-01 SCCT-01 ACDA-05 /102 W

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INFO AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI PRIORITY
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 0212

7. SALIM HAS SCHEDULED CONSULTATIONS OF SC AS A WHOLE AFTERNOON JANUARY 22, BY WHICH TIME WE EXPECT NON-ALIGNED WORKING PAPER WILL HAVE BEEN FURTHER MODIFIED. HE STILL EXPECTS TO CONCLUDE DEBATE JANUARY 23 OR 24. HOWEVER, HE HAS TOLD JOURNALISTS THAT IF IT SEEMED MORE TIME COULD LEAD TO ADOPTION OF A RESOLUTION, HE WOULD ADJOURN OVER WEEKEND, SCHEDULE NAMIBIA DEBATE JANUARY 26, AND HOLD VOTE ON MIDDLE EAST RESOLUTION JANUARY 27.

8. TEXT FOLLOWS OF JANUARY 21 NON-ALIGNED WORKING PAPER:

SC,

HAVING CONSIDERED ITEM ENTITLED "MIDDLE EAST PROBLEM INCLUDING PALESTINIAN QUESTION", IN ACCORDANCE WITH RES 381 (1975) DATED 30 NOVEMBER 1975,

HAVING HEARD REPS OF PARTIES CONCERNED, INCLUDING PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION, REP OF PALESTINIAN PEOPLE,

CONVINCED THAT QUESTION OF PALESTINE IS CORE OF CONFLICT IN MIDDLE EAST,

EXPRESSING ITS CONCERN OVER CONTINUING DETERIORATION OF SITUATION IN M.E., AS A RESULT OF ISRAEL'S PERSISTENCE IN ITS OCCUPATION OF ARAB TERRITORIES AND ITS REFUSAL TO IMPLEMENT RELEVANT UN RES'S

REAFFIRMING PRINCIPLE OF INADMISSIBILITY OF ACQUISITION OF TERRITORIES BY THREAT OF USE OF FORCE,

REAFFIRMING FURTHER NECESSITY OF ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONFIDENTIAL

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JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN REGION BASED ON FULL RESPECT FOR CHARTER OF UN AS WELL AS FOR ITS RES'S CONCERNING PROBLEM OF M.E. INCLUDING QUESTION OF PALESTINE,

1. AFFIRMS:

(A) THAT PALESTINIAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE ENABLED TO EXERCISE ITS INALIENABLE NATIONAL RIGHTS INCLUDING RIGHT TO REPATRIATION, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND RIGHT TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT STATE IN PALESTINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHARTER OF UN AND RELEVANT UN RES'S;

(B) THAT ISRAEL SHOULD WITHDRAW FROM ALL ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED SINCE JUNE 1967;

(C) THAT APPROPRIATE GUARANTEES OF RIGHTS OF ALL STATES IN AREA IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHARTER OF UN SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR REALIZATION OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN M.E. AS SOON AS THE TWO PRECEDING SUB-PARAS ARE IMPLEMENTED;

2. DECIDES THAT PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN PARA (1) SHOULD BE BASIS FOR ALL INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS AND CONFERENCES ORGANIZED WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF UN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN M.E.;

3. REQUESTS SYG TO MAKE NECESSARY ARRANGEMENTS AS SOON
AS POSSIBLE FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF PROVISIONS OF THIS RES AND
TO REPORT TO SC ON PROGRESS ACHIEVED;

4. DECIDES TO CONVENE WITHIN A PERIOD OF SIX MONTHS
TO CONSIDER REPORT BY SYG REGARDING IMPLEMENTATION OF
THIS RES, AND IN ORDER TO PURSUE ITS RESPONSIBILITIES
REGARDING SUCH IMPLEMENTATION.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Draft Date: 22 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Reason:
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